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Front Cover: The medieval Cistercian grange chapel of Tref-carn, Abercarn (Society of Antiquaries of London).

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roperty to the abbot of Llancarfan again may suggest that
ıff, apparent later, might have gone back to the times of the

St Michael at the stony ford', subject of a charter of *c.*980[44]
ımelin, a name now familiar as the modern name of the Iron
valley of the Castroggi brook west of the hill fort and is
l'. There is no evidence whatever of a church, either at the
ation is confirmed by mention of the Castroggi brook as a
ı Mill (ST 438962) as a possible location on topographical
ling known as Llandegelly. A large Roman coin hoard was
gesting an earlier settlement. Another possibility is Dinham
dairy farm which possibly had a Michael dedication.[45]
. Peter's on the old (Roman) road' (ST 371891) named in a
eteenth century, when they were recorded by Morgan and
ventia. Its site is now under the lawn of a house known as
that of Hendrew Farm, a kilometre to the north-east, the site
the secular centre of this small estate. Later, Henrhiw came
neys Inferior and was merged with that parish.[46]
.. The two final charters, for *Villa Tref Rita* near Llandegveth
d by Caradoc ap Gruffydd, king of Gwent killed at the battle
charter also refers to Roger fitz William fitz Osbern 'Count
75) and to William the Conqueror (1066-1087).[47]. The two
hat the pattern of rural churches in Gwent was now largely
man foundations which lay in the future. Llangwm was a
e acquired four 'saints' - past members of the community,
sanctity. Tref Rita is probably Llanddewi Fach, totally rebuilt
and recently demolished.[48] It lay some 600 metres from the
ed, in the valley of the Sôr brook. Llandegveth, with its
e of the 'martyr' Tegfedd, already existed by *c.*750. The *Villa*
until the time of the grant. It, and the martyrium of Tegfedd,
stical centres of a single landholding.

Hundred of Caldicot, Part 2 (London, 1932, reprinted 1994), 157;
., 1783) Gloucestershire 162a;, Dinham, see: Williams, 'Church in
a Silurum (London,1862) 83.
organ, O. and Wakeman, T., *Notes on the Ecclesiastical Remains at*
dr (Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, Newport,
Hundred of Caldicot, Part 2, 205; Knight, J.K., 'A forgotten

DEATH, COMMEMORATION AND THE REFORMATION IN MONMOUTHSHIRE

By Madeleine Gray

One of Gwenllian Jones's greatest legacies to her adopted county has surely been the Gwent County History. But neither she nor the editors and authors would ever want the five volumes to be treated as the last word on the county's past. We have all been acutely aware of the 'Gwent-sized hole' in histories of the region: our hope has always been that the publication of a county history would stimulate and provide frameworks for further research and exploration. It is in that light that this article is offered in her memory.

It was clear from the outset that the County History's chapters on the late medieval church and the Reformation in Monmouthshire would have to reflect the on-going debate over the Reformation in Wales. Was the late medieval church really corrupt, and how can we balance this against the overwhelming evidence for its popularity, in both wills and surviving buildings? Given that popularity, how can we account for the lack of resistance to change in the 1530s and (even more so) during the reign of Edward VI, when what was still largely a Welsh county had to cope with a prayer book in an unfamiliar vernacular? And was the process of religious change really that smooth? It is tempting to look at Thomas Jones of Llanfair Cilgedin's paean of praise for the William Morgan Bible – ' the treasure of true riches ... the perfect precious pearl-stone ... the sword of great renown ...'[1] and to assume that by 1588 all was indeed over bar a bit of recusant shouting.

Recent research by academics like Kate Olson is suggesting that it was a much more long-drawn-out process and that the extent of resistance (generally passive resistance but resistance none the less) has been underestimated.[2] Some light may be shed on these debates by the evidence for changing perceptions of death and commemoration, and specifically on attitudes to prayer for the dead. Attitudes to death and the dead clearly underwent radical change in the course of the Reformation. Most historians identify as the key to these changes the reformers' denial of the existence of Purgatory – described by Eamon Duffy as '*the* defining doctrine of late medieval Catholicism.'[3]

Purgatory was the intermediate stage between Heaven and Hell, suggested by medieval theologians as a way of dealing with sins which had been confessed and absolved but not expiated. Purgatory was thus a place of torment where souls were purged: unlike Hell it had limits, but souls in purgatory were depicted as suffering and begging for release. Time in Purgatory could be shortened by the purchase of indulgences, 'promissory notes on the Treasury of Merits' as Swanson called them,[4] and by the prayers of the living. Indulgences could even repay the living for their prayers. The early

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[1] Parry-Williams, T.H. (ed.), *Cerddi Rhydd Cynnar* (Cardiff, 1932) no. 95, 369; *cf.* Gray, M. and Morgan, P. (eds), *The Gwent County History Volume 3: The Making of Monmouthshire, 1536-1780* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2009) 67-8.

[2] Olson, Katherine, *Religion, Reformation and Society in Wales and the Marches, c. 1400-1603* (forthcoming).

at Llanfihangel Rogiet promises forty days remission of
d an Ave Maria for her soul.[5]
:h part of the community of the living, the objects of charity
ehind an elaborate tomb was to ask for prayer. Some wills
)mbs as well as funeral rites. Charles Somerset, earl of
he died nearby, but if he died elsewhere 'to have a flatstone
look upon it shall pray for his soul'.[6] It was also well worth
fter death, and a charitable act to leave prayer for the souls

authority for all of this, replacing the whole structure of
piation with the doctrine of justification by faith. Martin
ıttacked the purchase of indulgences for the dead as well as
ı extortion: 'The dying', according to the thirteenth of his
rom all penalties, are already dead as far as the canon laws
ased from them'.[7] By the late 1520s, a number of reformers
: Biblical warrant for the existence of Purgatory itself.
' attack on the whole religious culture of intercessory prayer
medieval Catholicism as 'a cult of the living in the service
were accepted, the dead were past all help from the prayers
d now do was to acknowledge their virtues and respect their
ıe combined impact of these changes as 'one of the great
y'.[9]
:hanges on local communities, in England as well as Wales,
)ng historians. Looking specifically at money left for prayer
ınd not only a marked decline in all bequests for prayer for
cplicit denials of the existence of Purgatory and the validity
Duffy has pointed out that official attacks on intercessory

ıe Caldicot History Society, the church at Llanfihangel Rogiet has
less Churches. Vehicular access is still difficult but it is now open
:lds.
22, IMAGE no. 132. References to PCC wills are hereafter given

:i (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1957) 26.
xteenth-century Champagne' in Trinkaus, C. with Oberman, H.O.
·dieval and Renaissance Religion* (Brill, Leiden, 1974) 141-76,

in England between the Late Fifteenth and Early Eighteenth
' *Bereavement* (Routledge, London, 1989) 25-42, quote on p. 36;
ıth, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England (Croom
)h, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford

foundations (starting in the early sixteenth century with changes in government policy relating to grants in mortmain) might have led many testators to give instructions to their executors rather than making explicit bequests which might be disallowed.[11] Sir William Morgan of Pencoed was acutely aware of the shifts in government policy: in 1535, he had been largely responsible for the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* survey of church property in the diocese of Llandaff, a survey which included several chantry foundations.[12] In his will in 1541 he made no detailed provision for his funeral or commemoration but asked for burial at Llanmartin 'as I have declared my mynde to my executrice'.[13] The opening of the preamble to his will could be described as 'Protestant': he prayed:

> 'that I may be partaker of the most blessed passion of our saviour Criste Jhu and by his redempcion only to be savyd as my very hope and trust ys to be savyd ... I give and bequeath my soule to the marcy of our lorde god the father the sone and the holy goost and to the merits of the passion of our savyour Christ Jesu the sone ...'

but, he then continued, 'to our lady Saynt Mary and to all the blessed company of hevyn ...'.

To judge by her will, his widow Florence was conservative in her inclinations. Among other things, she left a gown of crimson velvet to make a cope and chasuble for the family chapel, and her own silver pax, candlesticks and cruets for the altar there. We can probably assume therefore that Sir William's dying instructions included provision for prayer for his soul and that she would have carried these out conscientiously. In her own will she made no specific provision for intercessions but left the residue of her goods to her son 'to have and use them, my funeralles done, decently to use them for the wealthe of my soule'.

Barbara Harris's study of élite female piety found that there was if anything a slight increase in the number of monuments asking for prayer for souls after the Act of Ten Articles, though the numbers are clearly affected by the number of monuments whose inscriptions asking for prayer have been defaced or removed.[14] She did not correlate this with a decline in chantry foundations and bequests for intercessory prayer, but it is at least possible that testators could have chosen to leave money for a tomb asking for prayer rather than leaving money for an endowment which could then have been confiscated. Harris also found inscriptions asking for prayer during the reign of Edward VI and in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. One example she quotes is John Scudamore of Holme Lacy, just across the border into Herefordshire, who died in 1571 and whose tomb asks onlookers to say a Paternoster and Ave for him. Scudamore was an open recusant – but the fact that such an inscription was allowed on a monument in a high-profile position in a parish church suggests a considerable measure of local collusion.

Of the Welsh counties, Monmouthshire was one of the best supplied with chantries, permanent foundations for intercessory prayer, but chantries were a relatively recent introduction to Wales and

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[11] *The Stripping of the Altars*, 504-23; on restrictions on grants in mortmain *see e.g.* Kreider, Alan, *English chantries: the road to dissolution* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard, 1975) 81-6.

[12] *The Gwent County History* was never meant to be the last word, and to our embarrassment it cannot even claim to be definitive. The present writer was responsible for confusing this William Morgan with William Morgan of Tredegar in her chapter in *Volume 3* (p. 63). Fortunately this was corrected on p. 21 of the same volume by John Gwynfor Jones (ref

s.[15] Our main sources for changing perceptions of death and
lls. Both are undeniably problematic. Even at Abergavenny,
late medieval alabaster tombs in the UK, post-Reformation
ıd weather have left a number of interpretative problems.
ar worse, while Phillip Lindley has argued persuasively for
-century iconoclastic damage to tombs across England and

ıuggests that in Wales the bulk of the damage was done later
ılence and Victorian church rebuilding and restoration.[17] The
Morgan of Pencoed, for example, could still be seen at
d Williams described it as 'overgrown with weeds and
n the 1540s in accordance with Sir William's will, which left
d hardly have covered the cost of the tomb, let alone the
d more to be spent 'yf the charges so requereth'.[19] According
centre of the chapel. It was made of alabaster, with effigies
. There were five figures in early Tudor dress on each side
ead were the arms of the family supported by angels. The
vho bought the Pencoed estate in 1701, took the lead off the
which then fell in.[20] Williams reported that the incumbent
ı mend the roads. The chapel also contained the slightly later
great-grand-daughter and heiress and her first husband Sir
s), who died in 1616. That too vanished during the nineteenth
e been not iconoclasm but the well-documented demographic
vhich left so many estates in the hands of newcomers with no
of their predecessors.
e of iconoclasm, neglect or rebuilding was random, so it is
survival of monuments. There are certainly fewer surviving
Glamorgan, and they are in general in a far worse state of
ematic for the later medieval monuments as so many have lost
ible to say who they commemorate or whether they ask for
ıscriptions have gone precisely because they asked for prayer
(possibly to forestall the destruction of the whole monument),
ter alcove tomb of Richard Herbert of Ewyas in Abergavenny
ichardus Herbert de Ewyas miles qui obiit nono die ... anno
e propiciet' D' amen'. Only half of this is original – but it is

of the chantries and shrines of Monmouthshire', *Journal of Welsh*
ınd Biebrach, Rhianydd 'Monuments and Commemoration in the
ınpublished Swansea University Ph.D. thesis, 2010) 217-87.
eval monuments in early modern England (Shaun Tyas, Donington,

i4.

the latter half with the prayer for his soul which has survived. At some point in the past the first part of the inscription has been lost and has been replaced not in alabaster but in limestone. According to Richard Symonds, whose description of the tombs in 1645 is a crucial source for our understanding of their history, the inscription then described Richard Herbert as 'armiger' and gave his date of death as 12 September 1510. Lindley suggests that much of the restoration of the tombs was post-1660, and this might provide a context for an attempt by Herbert's descendants to promote him to knighthood.[22]

Most of Monmouthshire's few surviving medieval tombs have suffered severe damage at some point in the past. Apart from Richard Herbert's tomb, the only surviving inscriptions are on the tomb slabs of George Lewis of St Pierre and his wife Anne, both in St Pierre church. His reads 'x here lieth george lewis x gentilman which disceased the ix day of Septem x ber in the yeare of o^{r} lors god m^{o}d^{o}viij on whose soul god have mercy'. Hers is partly obscured by the organ but reads *'... which deceasid the xxxi day of october in the yeare of oure lord mdxxvii on whose soul god have mercy'*. The tombs of Sir John Morgan in St Woolos and Sir Thomas Morgan in Llanmartin may have had inscriptions but they have been lost and the tombs now have to be identified by heraldry and context. The tomb of Sir William ap Thomas and Gwladys Ddu in Abergavenny may also have had an inscription (there is just room for one between the effigies and the plinth), but according to Symonds the stained glass in the east window of the south chapel included the legend *'Orate pro a'iabus Will'i Thomas militis et Alicie [presumably recte Gl'icie] ux'is sue qui istam capellam et fenestram vitriari fecerunt'*.[23] The tomb of their younger son Richard Herbert of Coldbrook does not appear to have had an inscription – at least, it is difficult to see how one could have been fitted between the effigies and the crenellated border of the plinth. Prayers of the dead or requests for prayer are thus included on all the surviving inscriptions: but as the total number is so small we cannot be sure that they are representative.

Wills present the same problems of poor and unrepresentative survival. In the absence of diocesan probate records we are restricted to wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. In theory this limits us to the wills of the wealthiest members of local society. The scope of the sources is actually wider than that: the testators include very minor landowners, townspeople and even a husbandman, Ieuan Tanner of Redwick – though as he left a substantial landed estate and gave £5 for a priest to pray for his soul for a year, 20s to his parish church to buy banners and 20s to repair the causeway to the church, he was actually quite comfortably off.[24]

There is now an extensive literature on the shortcomings of wills as sources for changing religious perspectives in the sixteenth century. Much of this has centred around the preambles, but there is also doubt about the weight which can be placed on bequests.[25] At the best they give us a minimum figure for endowments for prayer: as Burgess points out, parish records (where they survive) can give a much fuller picture.

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[22] Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, 199-236 and esp. 214.

[23] Long, C.E. (ed.), *Richard Symonds's Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army* (Camden Classic Reprints, Cambridge, 1997) 235.

[24] PROB 11/30/55.

[25] *See* for example Zell, M.L., 'The use of religious preambles as a measure of religious belief in the sixteenth

of the Virgin Mary.[28] The will of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, a poignant document made between his capture at the battle of Edgecote in the summer of 1469 and his execution a few days later, left money for prayer before the Trinity at Llantilio 'for my soule and for alle there soules slayne in this feld'.[29] Richard Willy of Monmouth (died 1502) asked for burial in his parish church in front of the statue of St Michael the archangel in the Trinity choir; his will also left money for prayers to be said in the chapel of the Virgin Mary called 'le old chapell' in Monmouth parish church.[30]

These requests could have a political as well as a spiritual charge. When Thomas Harrys of Chepstow asked for burial in his parish church in the chapel of St Anthony,[31] he may simply have been reflecting local devotion to the saint: but it is also worth remembering that St Anthony was one of the favourite saints of the king's recently-deceased grandmother, the formidable Lady Margaret Beaufort. She fasted regularly on the saint's day and had several statues of him in her chapel.[32] It is at least possible that the chapel was dedicated to honour her, and that Thomas Harrys may have been expressing loyalty to the Tudor dynasty as well as devotion to the saint.

While some testators were happy to leave funeral arrangements to their executors, some had very specific requirements. James ap Gwatkin of Llanddewi Rhydderch (will dated 1541 but not proved until 1545) wanted twenty-four priests to say mass for him in his parish church on the day of his funeral and twenty-four tapers – a figure which presumably represents the twelve prophets of the Old Testament and the twelve Apostles.[33] John Walter of Redwick (died 1545) was content with six priests and 8lb of wax for his candles.[34] Some testators specified substantial sums for their funeral celebrations. Thomas ap John Meurig (will dated 1537, proved 1542) wanted £13 6*s.* 8*d.* to be spent 'honestly' on the day of his funeral;[35] David Morris of Trelech Grange (will proved 1545) left twenty nobles 'to pray for my soule and to brynge me unto the earthe and for all other funerall expences and charges'. Others were more restrained: Thomas Collins of Skenfrith (died 1544) wanted to be buried in the church but left only £2 13*s.* 4*d.* for the service (though this was still roughly half the cost of the stipend of a chantry priest for a year),[36] and Jenkin Lloyd of Llan-ffwyst (died 1523) set aside £2 for his funeral and £5 to pay a priest for a year.[37] Some testators had a very clear sense of the cost of provision. Nicholas Gilbarde of Oldcastle, who died in 1525, wanted six torches priced at 46*s.* 8*d.* and twelve tapers priced at 16*s.* But this was not parsimony: he also left £6 for food and drink on the day of his funeral.[38] The funeral feast does seem to have been regarded as a sort of secular Eucharist by some testators.

Rhianydd Biebrach has pointed out the comparatively slender provision made for intercessory prayer in south-east Wales in comparison with (for example) Somerset and Gloucestershire. This is

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[28] PROB 11/17/407.

[29] PROB 11/5/305.

[30] PROB 11/13/2266; for further references *see* Gray, M., 'The Pre-Reformation Church' in Griffiths, R.A., Hopkins, Tony and Howell, Ray (eds.), *The Gwent County History Volume 2: The Age of the Marcher Lords, c. 1070-1536* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2008) 337-45.

[31] PROB 11/17/258.

[32] Jones, Michael K. and Underwood, Malcolm G., *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992) 144.

[33] PROB 11/31/33.

lence. In his detailed studies of popular piety in Bristol, Clive
e only a fraction of the information we need – but in Wales they
ally all the Monmouthshire wills before 1530 included at least
f them were both generous and complex. Sir Edmund Seymour
the four friaries of Bristol to celebrate for him in honour of the
ıd saints, all confessors and martyrs, the archangels Michael and
virgins and angels.[40] In 1502, Richard Willy of Monmouth left
or a year in Monmouth church; a silver bowl to the vicar of
asses; and land at Rundells broke to provide a priest to celebrate
rty-one wills of Monmouth residents before 1540, eight (26%)
ix (19%) left the residue of their estates for their soul's health
sionary bequest if the heirs all died) and fifteen (48%) did both.
any provision for their souls. Thomas Steven, a burgess of
ınd unexpectedly in London in 1529. His will was brief: he left
made no provision for prayer for his soul but asked that the 20*s.*
esumably St Woolos) should be paid.[42] The other was Thomas
ughs, who made his will in 1535 but lived until 1558. This
of Wales of 26% making specific bequests, 17% leaving the
, and 14% making no provision. For some testators the place of
the place of burial. Walter Draper, an Abergavenny burgess,
ut then specified that he wanted a priest to celebrate for his soul
was buried.[43] When Richard Vaughan of Bristol made his will
y for his soul in Aberystruth where he was christened.[44] Most
ble' priest but Morgan ap John of Tredegar left 20s a year to Sir
lative) to pray for his soul and also asked him to 'take heed to

er for their own and all Christian souls, sometimes for wife,
d graduale of the requiem mass (and elsewhere in the office of
ona *eis* Domine; et lux perpetua luceat *eis*'. However, some left
or other named individuals. Richard Herbert of St Pierre (died
wn soul but 40*s.* to Tintern Abbey to pray for soul of Richard
dies his wife to spend it for all Christian souls; then the residue
ıis soul's health.[46]
vision for intercessory prayer in the early 1540s. Of thirty-nine
th of Henry VIII in 1547, six (15%) made specific provision for
of the estate, eight (21%) did both, but twelve (31%) did neither.

Records of All Saints, Bristol (Bristol Record Society, Bristol, 3 vols,

(The figures for Wales as a whole are 23%, 27%, 18% and 32%.) There were still some very complex and considered bequests: Thomas ap Hopkin of Rockfield, for example, who in 1541 left £4 to be distributed for his soul's wealth, £3 at his funeral, 10*s.* at his month's mind and 10*s.* at the year's end 'and more if required'. After detail of the disposal of his lands and cattle, he left the residue of his estate to his executors to dispose of for his soul's wealth. However, specific bequests like this became gradually less common, and more and more testators confined themselves to leaving the residue of their estates to be disposed of for their soul's health at the discretion of their executors. Even more telling, specific bequests for prayer were less likely to have pride of place at the beginning of the will and more likely to appear towards the end of the will – where they were less likely to attract attention, perhaps? Nor did absence of bequests for prayer necessarily indicate reformed convictions. In a will made in 1541, Hywel ap Thomas ap Gwilym ap Hywel of Llanfable left four nobles for repairing the churchyard cross and £10 to repair and buy church bells but nothing specifically for prayer for his soul. (He may have thought he had done enough: he was certainly confident enough to request burial in the old Easter sepulchre of the church.)[47]

In parallel with this, there is a decline from the early 1540s onwards in specific provision for funeral arrangements and in requests for burial in specific locations. Some of this was the inevitable consequence of the removal of 'superstitious' images from churches – precisely those images which attracted burials. Since the arguments of the reformers tended to the conclusion that one's place of burial did not matter, one would have expected fewer testators specify a place for burial, or perhaps for more to ask for burial in the churchyard, and for the changes to parallel other evidence for reformed ideas. It is difficult to demonstrate any correlation in the mid-sixteenth century. By the reign of Elizabeth, as Judith Jones noted in her study of the later sixteenth-century wills, there was some correlation between directions for burial 'in the earth whence it was made' or 'where it happens to fall' and elaborate reformed preambles, but there were also several wills of known Catholics who gave no directions for their funerals, presumably because they had already asked for burial with Catholic rites.[48]

Judith Jones also noted a revival in requests for burial in specific locations – in the porch, in a family chapel or near other family burials. Perhaps the most detailed was the will of Dr David Lewis, who asked for burial 'in the chapel of the parish church of Abergavenny where I used to kneel, in the tomb prepared'. Saints could be replaced by secular heroes: in 1561, William David Thomas of Monmouth asked for burial 'in the parish church of Monmoth against the door of King Harre's chapel'.[49] The wills also suggest an increase in provision for elaborate and expensive funerals in the later years of the century. This can probably be explained by what the sociologists would call status anxiety. Without the scope which the late medieval Catholic rites offered to articulate status and deal with grief, the outward show of the funeral provided social reassurance as well as emotional comfort. In her comparative study of Paris and London, Vanessa Harding noted the extent of continuity in funerary practice: even in London, where the ideas of the reformers gained considerable traction,

[47] Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 1 Part 2a, The Hundred of Abergavenny Part 1* (London, 1906 and 1991) 293.

enth centuries were still lavish, with doles of food and
articipated in funeral processions. [50]
those who were prepared to defy government policy.
f Dingestow, who died in 1552, commended his soul
ightie God to be saved as my faithfull trust is by his
nne Jesus Christ', but the Protestant resonance of this
the vicar of Dingestow to pray for his soul and £6 13*s*
l for his soul's health.[51] Perhaps more surprising was
o died in 1552. At first sight he too was a reformer. He
erical marriage in 1549: he had ten children, most of
ested extensively in former chantry lands. At first sight
minimum left to charity and the rest concerned with
ough, he left the residue of estate to his executors 'to
ls'.[52] Even more high-profile was the gift of Sir Charles
parish church of Wonastow. A three-light window, it
e pro bono statu Caroli Herbert, Arm., et Eliz. uxoris
/hile this window did not explicitly ask for prayer for
s were expected to benefit them.
for implicit or covert prayer. Before the changes of the
region's friaries – to Hereford and Cardiff as well as
lgences granted to friaries to be offered in return for
or less in Purgatory could be granted by episcopal
al registers for the period we cannot track this. Small
arhys may also have been indulgenced: in the absence

ve the changes of the 1530s. In earlier wills, bequests
ests for prayer for the deceased's soul: in 1545, for
t left £6 13*s*. 4*d*. to be distributed among priests, clerks
is soul and all Christian souls. He also left money for
ecified amount of land to be disposed of for his soul.[55]
ally mention prayer but might do so by implication.
table bequests in Edwardian Gloucestershire which she

London. For burial in church, and for specific locations in
nent of funeral doles and distribution of charity at funeral
ages: death, burial and the English Reformation' in Gaimster
tion, 386-98.

ume 1 Part 1 The Hundred of Skenfrith (London, 1907 and
s Heath's *Historical and descriptive accounts of the ancient*
vindow (though apparently not the inscription) could still be

suggested might have been covert requests for prayer.[56] When in January 1546, Gladys ferch Jevan of Llanfrechfa (Mon) left five bushels of oaten malt to her sister to distribute in alms to poor people 'for my soul and all Christian souls', she did not explicitly ask for the prayers of the poor but this was clearly what she had in mind.[57] Furthermore, as David Williams has pointed out, the number of bushels was probably a coded reference to the Five Wounds of Christ, and it is worth remembering that bequests for masses of the Five Wounds were a common feature in earlier wills.[58] Concern for the poor was particularly strong in women's wills, and bequests were often couched in terms which made it clear that the testator was thinking of the Seven Corporal Acts of Mercy.[59] This may also explain the absence of prayers for the dead in some of the earlier wills. And of course, as Duffy points out, the common-sense option after 1547 was to leave residuary legacies to the executors on the unwritten understanding that they would actually secure prayers for souls.

From 1547, testators were encouraged to leave money to the 'poor men's box' in their church. This was never a very successful strategy. While a number of Monmouthshire testators during Edward's reign did leave money to the poor, it was always tiny sums – usually 4*d*., seldom more than 8*d*. Lewis Bowles of Penhow left 20*s*. to the poor in 1552 but made no mention of the parish box: this was possibly money to be distributed at and around his funeral and by implication in return for prayer.[60] Philip Morgan of Llanfair in Llandeilo Gresynni asked for money to be given immediately after his death to 120 of the poor (possibly a reference to the twelve Apostles, and certainly the kind of charity which was expected to produce prayer). He also left money for the repair of St Noye's Chapel, which had actually been closed by the time his will was proved in 1548.[61]

Bequests to the poor continued into Mary's reign. In January 1555, James Ashe of Nash (who asked specifically for burial in the churchyard) left 6*s*. 8*d*. to the poor of Winchcombe and Alderton (Glos), where he presumably held lands, and 3*s*. 4*d*. to the 'poore prisoners of the castell of Gloucester'. Bequests to prisoners were of course reminiscent of the Seven Corporal Acts of Mercy, with their injunction to visit prisoners, and might have been geared to the encouragement of prayer. There were also testators during Elizabeth's reign who left small sums to the 'common box' or the 'poor men's box', but without the incentive of intercessory prayer this form of charitable provision was clearly quite inadequate and was eventually replaced by the parish rate. Bequests for the construction or repair of bell towers and the provision of bells were of course a common feature of late medieval wills: they were also a very visible (and audible) way of securing prayer for one's soul.[62] In *The Buildings of Wales Gwent/Monmouthshire*, John Newman has pointed to the number of churches in

[56] Litzenberger, Caroline, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002 edit.) 79-80.

[57] PROB 11/31/75.

[58] Williams, David H., *The Five Wounds of Jesus* (Gracewing, Leominster, 2004) 22.*Cf* Schen, Claire S., 'Women and the London parishes, 1500-1620' in French, Katherine, Gibbs, Gary and Kumin, Beat (eds), *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600* (Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 1997) 250-68, for bequests for sermons in fives and thirties (which Schen suggests was 'a nod towards the former practice of a trental of masses': quote on p. 258).

[59] Helt, J.S.W., 'Women, memory and will-making in Elizabethan England' in Gordon and Marshall, *The Place*

ebuilt in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Many
' by bequests.[63] Thomas ab Iorwerth ap Hopkes, who died in
f a new tower or campanile' at Cwmcarfan, the money to be
inning of building work.[64] This has all the marks of a response
ght explain the bequests of Morgan John,[65] Thomas Bowles,[66]
ich the people of Abergavenny made to raise money for their
ıe *County History*. In the early 1540s, James ap Gwatkin of
3*s*. 4*d*. for the repair of the bells and bell-house of his parish
ed upper part of the tower, which still survives.[68]
nd to announce the funeral and month's mind. Some testators
e rung for them every day between the funeral and month's
uls, many churches rang their bells 'for all crystyn souls'.[69]
enry VIII to ban both All Souls vigils and bell-ringing, and a
Edward VI's reign.[70] The same thinking in theory underlay the
: reign of Edward VI (though the financial motive was also
d to be made for bells and towers: the tower at Llanarth may
of the sixteenth century.[71]
ion as well – they could be rung in celebration or to warn of
of course emphasized after the Reformation. Bequests for
e possible that they retained their spiritual significance in the
isteners.[72]
re slow to revive during Mary's reign. Within little more than
ght of the controversy over Mary's Spanish marriage, Roger
:10 to be distributed for his soul and all Christian souls.[73]
53 and 1558, only five left anything for prayer for the soul.
t confidence took a while to recover. When Richard David
enny, made his will in May 1555, within a year of England's
t money for forgotten tithes and funeral expenses (and 7*s*. for
t a time when bequests for repair of roads and bridges were
ıothing specifically for his soul's health. The preamble of the
r: he left his soul to God, 'trustinge by the merytts of Christes
: therefore have assumed that his sympathies were with the
September 1557, however, he left £5 to Sir John Howell to

shire (London and Cardiff, 2000) 24-5. For Cwmcarfan, *see* the will
. 1525 (PROB 11/21/453).

lls in 1500: PROB 11/12/22.
)B 11/17/63.
1524: PROB 11/21/187.
proved 6 Feb. 1546.
gland (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994) 45; Marshall, Peter,

pray and sing for his soul and all Christian souls for a year in the Rood church of Abergavenny.[74] Ironically, though, there were as many bequests for prayer in the early years of Elizabeth's reign as there were under Mary, a pattern which is reflected elsewhere in Wales.

Part of the problem is of course that government policy could change between the making of a will and the actual death. John ap Richard made his will during the 'phoney war' in 1531 when Henry was still trying to pressure the Pope into a settlement. By the time it was proved in 1539, the image of St Leonard before which he wanted to provide a candelabrum had probably been destroyed.[75] Perhaps the most extreme example is Thomas Kynyllyn. He made his will in 1535, before his career as MP for the Monmouth borough could have been thought of. It was one of the most austerely secular of the period: an almost insulting 6*d*. to Hereford Cathedral and 12*d*. to the vicar of Monmouth, and no mention at all of provision for his funeral rites or for prayer for his soul.[76] In spite of his awareness of the wider world, he seems to have seen no reason to add to these meagre bequests during Mary's reign.

To return to our original question: how popular was the late medieval church in Wales, and how can we explain the readiness of a conservative country to acquiesce in religious change? In the light of Rhianydd Biebrach's findings about the meagre provision for intercessory prayer in so many wills, we might consider Robert Lutton's phrase 'parsimonious piety'. He used this to explain the popularity of the Lollard critique of lavish provision of charity in return for prayer.[77] His research, though, was concentrated on the south-east of England, where Lollard ideas had considerable popularity. We have no evidence for Lollardy in pre-Reformation Monmouthshire, and the evidence of church building suggests that (as Burgess has argued) wills can only reflect a part of the contribution made by lay people to the life of the church. Alec Ryrie has suggested, though, that, while the beliefs and practices of late medieval religion may have been both popular and deeply rooted, the ideas of the reformers, once articulated, were surprisingly attractive.[78] The medieval doctrine of purgatory was psychologically compelling but made huge demands on the living. Thus, the reformers' argument that purgatory was a sham and a confidence trick offered not just freedom from fear but freedom from financial pressures.

It may be, though, that we are looking in the wrong place for commemoration of the dead in sixteenth-century Monmouthshire. As the chapters by of the *County History* make clear, Monmouthshire was still a largely Welsh-speaking county with a strong tradition of bardic verse,[79] and while the main purpose of tombs and funerals was to elicit prayer for the dead, the main purpose of elegaic poetry was to praise their achievements while living. The poets might ask for prayer, but many did not, and it was rarely if ever the main ostensible purpose of a *marwnad*. Lineage, leadership and valour, hospitality and service to the state were more important. Piety features in these poems but as an aspect of the behaviour appropriate for the *uchelwyr* rather than as a plea for forgiveness. Traditional Welsh praise poetry is thus surprisingly close in tone to the 'new' Renaissance cult of fame, which, Peter Sherlock suggests, 'filled the void left by the Reformation's removal of

[74] PROB 11/39/333.
[75] PROB 11/27/237.
[76] PROB 11/41/60.
[77] Lutton, Robert, *Lollardy and orthodox religion in pre-Reformation England: reconstructing piety* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2006) esp. pp. 95-9, 130-48. I am grateful to Alexandra Walsham for this reference

nts which praised the lineage and reputation of the deceased,
ry valour, learning or other service to community and state,
Reformation, though they can be found in English and Welsh
before that. But in Wales we already had a culture of praising
, military valour and service to the state rather than imploring
their sins.
with the theology of Purgatory and intercessory prayer.
praising the dead rather than begging for prayer for their souls
in which a challenge to traditional Catholic doctrine became
not become a committed evangelical by accepting one aspect
reasons. However, by accepting one aspect of their thinking,
were preaching in defence of what you had done, and against
aucity of evidence for commemorative tombs and intercessory
ay be evidence of paucity, after all, and it may contribute to our
Reformation in Wales.

A TALE OF LOST KNIGHTS: THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MILITARY EFFIGIES IN TINTERN ABBEY

By Mark Redknap, with a contribution by Jana M. Horák

Background

The Cistercian Abbey of Tintern, founded in 1131, is one of the best-known monastic sites in the British Isles, and its ruined church continues to inspire admiration and delight, much as it did in the late eighteenth century (Coxe, 1801; Heath, 1793 and later editions). The impact of the abbey church would have been even more profound in the Middle Ages, when it housed numerous tombs of patrons and benefactors, lost during the upheavals of the Dissolution and Civil War, and now represented by a small number of unearthed slabs and fragments of sculpture:

> rich piles of sculpture, sepulchral stones and mutilated figures + of monks and heroes, whose ashes repose within these walls, are scattered on the greensward, and contrast present desolation with former splendour (Coxe, 1801, 252).

Three-dimensional knight effigies are less common in medieval Monmouthshire and Glamorgan than ledger stones with floriated crosses, either incised or in relief. There are thirteenth-century knights at Ewenny (two examples), Llantwit Major, St Hilary and St Athan in the Vale of Glamorgan, Llanfihangel Rogiet near Undy[1], and later examples such as the wooden effigy of John, 2nd Baron Hastings at the Priory Church of St Mary, Abergavenny (died 1325).

This paper reviews the fragmentary evidence for three lesser known thirteenth-century knight effigies at Tintern, and their backgrounds.

Tintern 1. Knight effigy

Evidence for discovery/provenance

The mutilated effigy of a knight was 'discovered a century ago' (*i.e.* about 1759) at Tintern (Clark, 1859, 90; Robinson, 2011, 22). This appears to have come to light as a result of clearance work for Charles Somerset (1705-56), fourth duke of Beaufort, when 'expectations were formed of finding some valuable relics'. In about 1756, the interior was cleared out and rubbish either thrown into the River Wye or spread over adjoining land. Some items were sold, and 'a knight in mail', a Virgin and Child, and the gilt stone head of an abbot were discovered at this time. Heath records that 'before it was removed to its now situation [against a pillar in the south transept], the effigy of the knight was placed across the nave, and it served as a stop to coits', as the nave had become the village Fives Court (Heath, 1806, unpaginated). The earliest visual record of the effigy known to the author appears on a topographical print by R. Godfrey depicting the nave interior 1775 (NMWA 7361 [TPC 1327]; Fig. 1). This copperplate line drawing shows the figure complete with head, as a dark silhouette leaning in a picturesque manner against the south-east angle of the tower, where it had been placed against

[1] Anne Martel in fine grained limestone, and one usually identified as John Martel, limestone (oolitic